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ABSTRACT

The status of Black Studies programs at four-year colleges and universities in the U.S. was surveyed by mail questionnaire in October 1970. Information for the years 1969-71 was received from 64% of the relevant institutions. It included such data as: year of origin of the programs, extent of course offerings, organization of Black Studies within the colleges, and the degree of student involvement in their establishment. Presentation of the data is preceded by a critical survey of Black Studies literature. It is followed by a broad ranging commentary on issues involved in the development of the discipline as seen from a Black Studies perspective. (Author)

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THE STATUS OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS AT AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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A paper prepared for presentation at the 67th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, August 29, 1972.

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The Status of Black Studies Programs at American Colleges and Universities

I.

This paper is the joint effort of two sociologists and one Black Studies director. The senior author, Goldstein, became interested in knowing the extent to which the Black Studies movement was making an impact on curriculum offerings throughout the country. Newspapers had reported the birth of Black Studies at various well-known colleges, but little information appeared about less prestigious institutions. Periodically the New York Times summarized its journalistic surveys of the state of Black Studies, usually quoting certain key spokesmen.[1]

Goldstein had misgivings about the superficiality of a survey approach to Black Studies, recognizing her involvement in its development as peripheral. Opinions of those students and faculty members at Douglass College who were centrally involved in the new discipline were sought. Their encouragement was such that it was decided to mail a questionnaire survey to all four year colleges and universities in the United States. The chairman of the Douglass College African and Afro-American Studies program, Thomas Slaughter, agreed to sponsor the research, and questionnaires were distributed in Fall of 1970. Slaughter was later approached informally about the authenticity of the project at various Black Studies conferences. In discussions with the co-authors he pointed out that our survey could be seen as an intrusion, as one more attempt of white social scientists to gain knowledge and information which could betray or violate the Black experience. The poetic and holistic nature of Black Studies would be denied in this attempt to break it down and quantify it. The persons consulted may have balanced this reaction against the possible contribution

or possible harmlessness of the research when they advised us to go ahead. We felt that patterns of non-response might reflect a negative view of the survey, and made a mental note to study them.

The survey method is clearly that of sociology rather than that of Black Studies. Most white sociologists, including those of liberal persuasion, have been writing from a mainstream or Euro-American perspective, and our methods reflect this. Though ethnic origins are not definitive, according to Charles Valentine, who has written perceptively on this issue, the white sociologist tends to write from a Euro-American perspective.[2] And of course the builders of Black Studies write from an altogether different, Afro-American perspective. The Black Studies perspective pretends no neutrality, is proudly and openly pro-Black, and recognizes predominantly white universities as part of the American political structure. But in addition to the fact that the discipline of sociology has a historic Euro-American bias, many of its practitioners have felt particularly threatened by the Black Studies movement. As Wilson Record and Robert Blauner point out, some sociologists of race have been forced to leave an academic field in which they had a huge investment of time and emotional resources.[3] Goldstein and Albert, the two sociologists involved in this project, felt it important to subject our data to a Black Studies perspective or critique. Slaughter joined us in evaluating our data and we had a series of exploratory "rap" sessions on how Black Studies programs could be meaningfully evaluated.

The literature on Black Studies clearly reveals the two perspectives described by Valentine. There is the Euro-American approach to Black Studies, which views it from a white mainstream perspective. And there is the Afro-American approach, most evident in writings by Blacks, to Blacks and for Blacks. White scholars can get some idea of the Black perspective through various published sources. This perspective can be studied in the pages of Black World (formerly Negro Digest), particularly the March issues of 1968, '69 and '70, and in all issues of The Black Scholar. Sid Walton's The Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies[4] provides documentation of a strong Black approach to the development of Black Studies. This perspective was demonstrated at the October 1969 meeting of the African Studies Association in Montreal, in which persons of African ancestry reclaimed their turf from white Africanists who had labored long and hard in the field.[5] The internal dialogue among Black Studies builders does not take as its point of departure the institutionalization of another academic discipline. The aim is not to become "assimilated" into white racist education. Black Studies, as part of an ongoing social movement, is intent on developing its own frame of reference. The success of Black Studies is not necessarily to be measured by the number of courses offered, or the number of campuses on which they are offered. Indeed, Black scholars and students frequently view the response of university administrators to the demand for Black Studies as a "short-term sop thrown to rebellious students," as a panacea or placebo to quiet them.[6] Vincent Harding, one of the chief spokesmen for Black Studies, is pessimistic about the possibility of developing really sound programs in Black Studies on any mass basis, but hopes that a

few good programs can be created.[7] However, the fact that the majority of Black college students now attend predominantly white colleges, and their need for some version of Black Studies, is sometimes used to counter Harding's arguments for quality.[8] Wherever they are, Black students demand a more relevant curriculum. Similarly, the argument against a "brain drain" of Black scholars from predominantly Black schools is met by the same statistic - about 56% of the nation's Black students attend predominantly white institutions.[9] The final section of this paper will return to a discussion of the major issues in the evaluation of Black Studies programs, from a Black perspective.

The Euro-American stream of writing about Black Studies starts with the scene of the university in crisis, and is described in several collections dealing with student disruptions. The movement caught universities by surprise, and sociologists have been busy explaining it ever since. After the Black Studies movement erupted, it was easily tied to the demise of the Civil Rights movement, the hot summers, the special programs for disadvantaged students which were created in the mid-60's, and the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Few dispute the fact that Black Studies received its impetus from the new type of Black student who was brought on to traditionally white campuses, and who didn't know how to be grateful.[10]

Euro-American writing, while not always hostile to the creation of Black Studies, views it from the perspective of the white university, the white faculty and the white students. These kinds of questions are discussed: how should administrators handle Black student demands? Is the university being destroyed by Black militancy? Should white faculty be allowed to teach Black Studies? Are white students being closed out of Black

Studies courses? And, are all-Black dormitories and cultural centers a case of reverse racism? Questions are raised about the academic quality of both the students and the courses. Registration figures for Black courses are carefully scrutinized. An example of how Black Studies is discussed from a Euro-American perspective can be found in The Campus and the Racial Crisis, edited by David C. Nichols and Olive Mills.[11] The 1969 annual meeting of the American Council on Education was devoted to this question and both the papers given and commentary on them appear in this volume. The collection shows how enlightened college administrators and high educational officials view Black Studies officially and publicly. We know little about their private dialogues. There is little acknowledgement in mainstream writings of the existence of the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta, which is training Black Studies leadership.

Some symposia trying to bridge the gap between the Euro-American and Afro-American perspectives, including original pieces by a variety of people. Thus G. Kerry Smith's volume, The Troubled Campus[12] includes concise pieces by Vincent Harding and James Turner. And various case studies of particular campuses have been published which include many first hand documents.[13] The views of administrators, faculty, and Black student groups are presented in such collections as The University Crisis Reader, Vol. I.[14] This reader will be valuable when the history of the period is under dispute. And of course the famous Yale symposium, Black Studies in the University, is recognized as a landmark.[15]

Among those writing from a perspective which sounds Euro-American because of their acceptance of the current economic and political system (as modified by need reforms) are a few

well-known and frequently quoted Blacks. These spokesmen are concerned with Black mobility within the system, and their writing differs in flavor from that of the Black Studies protagonists. They see themselves as hard-headed rather than poetic and often minimize the significance of the cultural aspects of Black Studies. Bayard Rustin and Sir Arthur Lewis are probably the most distinguished Black critics of Black Studies.[16]

Writings on Black Studies continue to emanate from college administrators, faculty members, and Black Studies proponents. Interesting time lags occur in the conceptualizations of issues and problems. While college administrators were still debating the validity of the new discipline, Black scholars and students were considering and reconsidering its objectives, drawing up curriculum models, working out relationships between the programs and Black communities. Descriptions of individual programs appeared in publications geared to both Euro-American and Afro-American audiences. While universities c nsidered how Black Studies could be integrated without violating the university, Black Studies people were considering how to avoid cooptation and maintain the conflict relationship inherent in the birth of the discipline. By September 1970, Nathan Hare could editorialize in The Black Scholar about the "pseudo-black studies" being foisted on Black students, the role of foundations in supporting establishment-oriented Black Studies and the opportunistic role being played by moderate Blacks.[17] A different view was taken by scholars who attended a Black Studies conference in Binghamton, New York, in the Fall of 1971. They maintained that Black Studies still enjoyed only a tenuous existence, but that quality and

had improved and students had become more serious about the courses.[18]

Some surveys appeared, based both on questionnaires and interview data. Professional educational bodies undertook regional and statewide surveys.[19] The major relatively autonomous programs were reported in some detail. In 1969, the Information Center on Education in New York undertook a comprehensive survey on the status of Black Studies in all of the colleges and universities of that state.[20] The survey was a model of restrained reporting, offering little commentary and quite a bit of useful quantitative information. For example, the survey noted the ethnic origin of those teaching Black Studies courses. By 1969-70, barely 30 percent of those teaching such courses in New York State were listed as "nonwhite". Those "nonwhite" instructors were found to be relatively new faculty members at their institutions. Black Studies were more [illegible] available in four year than in two year colleges at the time of the study.

A well-financed nationwide study, of Black Studies in Community Colleges, by John Lombardi and Edgar Quimby was published in 1971.[21] A hefty 88 page monograph represent the findings of their one page questionnaire, which had been heavily supplemented by the reading of primary source materials, college catalogues, published and unpublished commentary. Unlike the New York study, the junior college study is heavily laced with opinion and advice. Most of the major issues in Black Studies are discussed. Its annotated bibliography is excellent, but its serious discussion of use of the terms "Black", "Afro-American" and "Negro" seems less important. Lombardi and Quimby found that the largest number of junior

colleges offering courses in Black Studies were located in urban areas, the next largest number in suburban areas, and the fewest in rural areas. The largest number of course offerings were in history, followed by English, social science, arts and humanities. Black students were found to be in the majority in most classes, though opposition to including whites in classes appeared to be lessening. Control of Black Studies was in the hands of Blacks. Lombardi and Quimby came to the conclusion that it was the number rather than the percentage of Black students on a campus that was correlated with the presence of Black Studies offerings. Thus, a small percentage of Black Students on a very large campus provided the needed impetus for the development of Black Studies.

Three "significant transitions in institutional aims and objectives" were seen to be emerging in the Black Studies movement, namely: 1. the transformation of the entire curriculum to promote the "black agenda", which was being promoted in some urban colleges with almost 100 per cent Black enrollment, 2. the broadening of the aims and objectives of standard courses to include the black experience, and 3. the supplementing or supplanting of the aims and objectives of Black Studies by those of Ethnic Studies.[22]

Black Studies can be viewed as one more discipline vying for the resources of the university, and its success estimated by the degree of its institutionalization into academic structures. Large enrollments, including many white students, could be seen as a measure of respectability,. Or, Black Studies can be viewed as a continuing conflict element in universities, consistently opposing racist structures and continually fighting for change. The demise of any particular

Black Studies program or the creation of any new program can be viewed differently from Euro-American or Afro-American perspectives. The appeal of Black Studies for large numbers of white students might reflect approaches that are less pro-Black. These points are made in order to indicate the dangers of drawing unwarranted conclusions from our data. The quantitative data presented must be taken for what it is - a tally of the extent of Black Studies programs, of their organization within the colleges, of student involvement and the other items discussed - as reported by college administrators and program heads.

II - The Data

Using the Directory of the U.S. Office of Education, 1969-70 edition, we established a card file of all four-year colleges in the United States. We recorded the size of the school, the nature of its sponsorship, whether it was coeducational, all female, or all male, traditionally white or Black, accredited, or selective, as well as the region of the country in which it was located and the level of degree awarded. All of this information came from the Directory except level of selectivity, which was obtained from Barron's Guide to Universities and Colleges. In October, 1970, we mailed a three-page questionnaire to 1734 schools. Of this number, 555 did not respond, 212 were excluded as not appropriate to our purpose, and 967 remain in our sample. These colleges comprise 64% of the relevant population.

Those who responded compare closely to those who did not in sponsorship, sex, and region, except that our sample has more colleges from the Middle Atlantic and East North Central, and slightly fewer from the Northeastern, and East and West South Central regions than the group of nonrespondents. Large, accredited, selective schools and those with graduate programs were especially likely to respond. None of these differences exceed ten percent, and most are less than half of that. Traditionally Black schools had an 84% response, but they are so few that they account for only 4% of the sample and 1% of the nonrespondents. (See Table 1.)

Table 1. Comparison of Respondents with Non-respondents. Percentages.

		Respondents N-967 %	Non-respondents N-555 %
Size	To 1500	52	60
	1501-4000	23	21
	4001-9000	13	10
	9000 +	12	8
	No information	-	1
Sex	Men only	8	8
	Women only	12	12
	Coed	80	80
Sponsorship	Public	32	29
	Private Nonsectarian	28	28
	Private Religious	39	43
Accredited	Yes	88	82
	No	12	18
Region	Northeastern	9	12
	Middle Atlantic	18	16
	East North Central	19	14
	West North Central	12	11
	South Atlantic	15	15
	East South Central	6	10
	West South Central	6	10
	Mountain	4	3
	Pacific	9	10
	Possessions and Territories	1	-
Selectivity	Selective	21	12
	Competitive	34	29
	Less Competitive	25	31
	No information	21	29
Degrees	Undergraduate only	46	56
	Undergraduate and Graduate	54	46
Race	Traditionally Black	4	1
	Traditionally White	96	99

Of the colleges responding, 18 percent have Black Studies programs, another 46% offer courses in the field, another 2% have African studies, Ethnic studies or lecture series only. The student looking for Black Studies can find something so classified in 640 colleges in our sample.

Thirty percent of the colleges which reported some form of Black Studies did not answer our question on the age of this development at their school. Of those who did answer the question, only 4% report some form of Black Studies before 1966, the year of Stokely Carmichael's Black Power pronouncements; the figure became 7% by the long, hot summer of 1967, and rose to only 14% by the time Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968. Eighty-six percent of the Black Studies offerings were established after this event, with 388 schools reporting starting dates after the summer of 1968.

Sixty percent of the schools having Black Studies designate a specific person in charge of the program and 26% say that their program has its own faculty and staff. We asked if anyone had been hired specifically to implement Black Studies. Thirty-two percent reported hiring academic personnel full-time, while another 6% had hired academics part-time only. Nineteen percent had hired full-time, and another 2% only part-time staff members.

Forty-six percent of the colleges offering Black Studies list more than two undergraduate courses for the 1970-71 academic year. This was an increase over the 35% claiming to have more than two courses in the preceeding year. Two hundred thirty-five colleges report an increase in the number of courses from 1969-70 to 1970-71, while only forty report

a decrease. Ten percent of those offering Black Studies had graduate courses in 1969-70 and this increased to 12% by the next year; about half of these schools list one or two courses only.

Sixty-five colleges indicate that they have an undergraduate major in Black Studies and four report a graduate major. Sixty-nine say they have a minor in Black Studies. More majors were reported by more schools in the second year than in the first but response was too poor on the question asking the number of students enrolled in the major to draw any detailed conclusions. Two hundred and eighty-two schools indicate that they are planning to initiate Black Studies or to expand their present offerings.

Students have been involved in developing Black Studies at an impressive number of institutions. Fifty-one percent of those having Black Studies say that students had asked to have them. Twenty-two percent say students serve the program in a decision-making capacity; thirty-two percent that students advise and help to plan Black Studies, and five percent report that they are on the staff.

As mentioned above, answers about the numbers of majors and minors were too sketchy to be of much use. About half of the schools reporting majors or minors in Black Studies claim that white students are enrolled in these programs; all say that Blacks are. Nine schools mention other races. Of all schools offering Black Studies in some form, fifty-five percent indicate that whites are enrolled in courses, and a little over half of these say whites are the majority of students taking Black Studies. Only half of the 967 respondents answered the question about proportions of

Blacks and Whites enrolled in their school. All but eight of these claimed to have Blacks enrolled. Except for the traditionally Black schools, most of these said they had from 1 to 5% Blacks, with 113 schools claiming that 6 to 25% of their enrollment is Black.

There were four groups of schools which differed enough from each other in the establishment and timing of Black Studies to warrant separate examination. (See Table 2.) Traditionally Black colleges form the first group. Since all but two of them are coeducational, we did not divide this group further. The other three groups are traditionally white colleges: male, female, and coed.

Using these categories, Black, White Male, White Female, and White Coed, we measured the association between size, sponsorship, selectivity, and percentage of Black enrollment, and five variables: presence of Black Studies, starting date of Black studies, existence of staff specifically for Black Studies, existence of a major or minor in the field, and students' role in establishment of or decisions about Black Studies. We also examined the racial composition of the Black Studies courses and of the colleges themselves.

Since we are interested in the establishment of a course of student relevant to the experience of Black people in the United States, we decided that we should exclude the 2% reporting "African", "Ethnic", or other types of programs or lecture series from our category "Black Studies". We decided also to exclude "no answers" from our analysis. All tables give percentages of colleges actually answering the relevant question. We have eliminated all cells containing less than 10 cases and used an asterisk to indicate those with ten or more, but less than twenty cases.

Table 2. Comparison of Colleges by Race and Sex. Percentages.

Type of School	Traditionally Black	Traditionally White		
		Male	Female	Coed
	%**	%	%	%
Have Black Studies*	89	51	68	64
Began Black Studies by Early 1968	17	10	23	12
Specific Staff for Black Studies	21	30	40	35
Major in Black Studies	30	13	6	11
Minor in Black Studies	41	11	4	13
Students Asked for Black Studies	70	62	58	74
Students Make Decisions About Black Studies	78	32	38	40
Whites are in the Majority in Black Studies Courses	0	86	73	69
Black Students are at Least 6% of College Enrollment	100	19	24	29

*"Black Studies" does not include African Studies, Ethnic Studies or lecture series.

**All percentages in this table are based on at least twenty (20) cases.

Table 2 shows that Black schools are the most likely to have Black Studies, to report a major or minor in the field, and to report that students take part in decision-making about Black Studies. In all of these respects this group of schools is far ahead of the traditionally white groups. They are not as likely as the white female schools to have begun Black Studies by early 1968, and not as likely as any of the white schools to have a specific staff for it. White coed schools are slightly ahead of the Black colleges in having established Black Studies in response to student demand. Of course, whites are never the majority in Black Studies courses in Black colleges, and Black students are always the majority in the school.

Detailed analysis of Black colleges is almost impossible due to the small number of traditionally Black schools in the sample (37) and loss of cases through nonresponse to individual questions. (See Table 3). Narrowing it down to schools of 1500 students or less does raise or lower some percentages, but only slightly, except that the likelihood of an early start is reduced to 6%, only a third of the original percentage. Limiting the category to schools of 1501 to 4000 enrollment nearly doubles the likelihood of an early start. Private schools seem to have been less likely to do anything, especially private religious schools, which are represented on six dimensions. Removing the two colleges classified competitive results in raising the percentage which have Black Studies, began early, have a major established in response to student demand, and lowers it for those with a specific staff and where students make decisions about Black Studies. Standard categories of

selectivity were used. It should be remembered that these are White criteria being imposed on Black schools. Note also that the questionnaire did not include criteria for student decision-making and therefore the replies reflect subjective interpretations.

Table 3. Comparison of Black Colleges by Size, Sponsorship, and Selectivity

	All Black Colleges	Size		Sponsorship		Selectivity	
		to 1500	1501-4000	Public	Private Nonsect.	Private Relig.	Less Compet.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Have Black Studies	89	92		85*		88*	92
Began Black Studies by Early 1968	17	6*	33*		9*	12*	20
Have Specific Staff for Black Studies	21	21*				9*	18
Have a Major in Black Studies	30	30				8*	36
Have a Minor in Black Studies	41	42*				25*	41
Students Asked for Black Studies	70	65*				55*	79*
Students Make Decisions About Black Studies	78	77*					69*

All percentages are calculated on a base of at least ten colleges. Cells with less than ten colleges in them are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

It is at the traditionally White colleges that the confrontations about Black Studies are most likely to take place, and there that the legitimacy of the field is challenged. Table 4 presents data on the existence of Black Studies for the three groups of White colleges. Here we see that the larger the school, the more likely it is to have Black Studies, but that small White female colleges are not nearly as resistant to establishing them as are schools where males attend. Private schools are less likely to have Black Studies than public, and religious private schools least likely of all, but here again, White female colleges show a percentage of Black Studies offerings higher than their sponsorship category would lead one to expect. The more selective the school, the more likely it is to offer Black Studies in all three groups, schools with females attending showing higher percentages than the all-male group. It is difficult to say anything about the percentage of enrollment which is Black in connection with the existence of Black Studies, although the trend is for Black Studies to be more likely where there are more Blacks, up to a percentage of 10, growing somewhat less likely if there are more than that.

After the death of Dr. King in early 1968, Black Studies was initiated at a great many schools; the year following saw the number of colleges offering some form of Black Studies more than trebled. In the academic year 1969-70, the number nearly doubled again. We thought it worthwhile to look at the character of the colleges which had initiated Black studies before the assassination of Dr. King. Table 5 presents data on the timing of Black Studies establishment.

Table 4. Percentage of Colleges with Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School		White Male	White Female	White Coed
		%	%	%
Whole group		51	68	64
Size -	to 1500	38	67	45
	1501-4000	78*	73*	71
	4001-9000			80
	9000+			87
Sponsorship -	Public			75
	Private Nonsect.	65	76	57
	Private Religious	49	65	56
Selectivity -	Selectivity	69	71	75
	Competitive	50*	69	70
	Less Competitive		50*	62
Percentage of Blacks -	1-5%	79	93	87
	6-10%		100*	94
	11+%			89

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Table 5. Percentage of Colleges with Black Studies by Early 1968 by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of Black Students Enrolled in School. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male	White Female	White Coed
	%	%	%
Whole group	10	23	12
Size - to 1500	13	23	15
1501-4000			13
4001-9000			10
9000+			11
Sponsorship - Public			11
Private Nonsect.	9*	29	20
Private Religious	12*	20	15
Selectivity - Selective	8*	7*	8
Competitive		35	14
Less Competitive			14
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	6*	23	9
6-10%		27*	12
11+%			22

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Size does not seem to be an important variable associated with an early establishment of Black Studies. Private, nonsectarian colleges are more likely to have started early in the White female and White coed groups, but not in the White male group. The most selective schools are less likely to have started early than the merely competitive or the less competitive. The more Blacks enrolled in the schools, the more likely they are to claim an early start on Black Studies. For these comparisons, White female schools are definitely leading the way and White male schools lagging behind.

Table 6. Percentage of Colleges with Specific Staff for Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male	White Female	White Coed
	%	%	%
Whole group	30	40	35
Size - to 1500	12*	39	32
1501-4000			28
4001-9000			34
9000+			46
Sponsorship - Public			40
Private Nonsect.	50*	63	36
Private Religious	20	26	26
Selectivity - Selective	55*	50*	49
Competitive		26	30
Less Competitive			29
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	41*	28	36
6-10%		73*	30
11+%			44

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Table 6 presents data on the presence of specific staff for Black Studies. Here there is a tendency for large schools to be more likely to have specific staff; also nonreligious schools, more selective schools, and those with more Blacks enrolled. Again the presence of females in the school seems to be associated with a higher probability of having a specific staff for Black Studies in several comparisons.

Although White colleges are more likely to have a specific staff for Black Studies than are Black colleges, White colleges are nowhere near as likely to offer a major or a minor in the field. (See

Table 2.) Tables 7 and 8 show the breakdown. In Table 7 we can see that size, public or non-religious sponsorship, selectivity and an enrollment which is more than 5% Black are all associated with the likelihood of the colleges offering a major in Black Studies. Size, public sponsorship, selectivity and higher numbers of Blacks are also associated with having a minor in Black Studies, except that in White male schools the most selective are much less likely than the merely competitive to have the minor.

All female schools are least likely of the three categories to have a Black Studies major except where Blacks constitute more than 6% of the enrollment, and they are least likely to have a minor except in small schools or private religious schools. This is interesting in the light of the strong tendency for White female colleges or coed colleges to have Black Studies and to have started it early, and the slight tendency for them to have a specific staff designated for it. It seems to me that this underlines the need to consider two influences which may affect the response of the White establishment to the demand for Black Studies: resistance and resources. It is certainly no news that the White power structure in the United States is also a male power structure. It should also be clear that the training of males in this country is training for leadership while the training of females is not. Nor is the training of females supported as well as the training of males. The demand for Black studies and the presence of Blacks should logically be more threatening in exclusively or predominantly male settings than it is in exclusively or predominantly female settings. Although the much-discussed interracial sexual rivalry is minimized in

Table 7. Percentage of Colleges with a Major in Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male %	White Female %	White Coed %
Whole group	13	6	11
Size - to 1500	4	2	3
1501-4000	18*		4
4001-9000			12
9000+			32
Sponsorship - Public			18
Private Nonsect.	27*	16	6
Private Religious	8	0	6
Selectivity - Selective	27*	21*	23
Competitive	9*	0*	13
Less Competitive		0*	4
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	22	0	11
6-10%		33*	14
11+%			14

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Table 8. Percentage of Colleges with a Minor in Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male %	White Female %	White Coed %
Whole group	11	4	13
Size - to 1500	0	5	4
1501-4000			8
4001-9000			16
9000+			30
Sponsorship - Public			23
Private Nonsect.		4	8
Private Religious	15	4	2
Selectivity - Selective	8*	6*	17
Competitive	27*	3	15
Less Competitive		0*	10
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	14	5	11
6-10%		9	16
11+%			29

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

one-sex institutions (as compared to coeducational colleges) it is precisely there that the interracial power rivalry is conspicuous--for the male schools by its intensification, and for the female schools by its absence.

As to the sexual rivalry, among Whites it is largely a male phenomenon. It is always one's sister that must be guarded, not one's brother, and the Black to worry about is the male, not the female. Among Blacks there seems to be the reverse concern. The Black woman, so often attacked and exploited in the past by White males is highly

resistant to the idea of interracial sex. Indeed, if the studies on intermarriage are to be believed, it is three or four times as likely to take place between a Black male and a White female as it is between a Black female and a White male. Recent writings by Black women are outspoken on this point and strong in their condemnation of Black men who become entangled with White women. While both sexes of Blacks have good reason to be highly suspicious of and antagonistic toward Whites, the emphasis as well as the focus of hostility may be different. On the campus, anxiety should be most intense among White males when faced with what they regard as the real threat, Black males. Where there are no White females to confuse the issue, the political implications are brought into focus. White political and sexual anxiety is least intense among White women, because they have only reflected power to protect and their men are not coveted by the other group of women. In addition, the passive White women, contemptuous and arrogant as she might be toward Black women in an inferior position to her own, is no match for the resourceful, spirited, and angry Black woman unencumbered by menial status.

Once the fact of Black Studies has been realized, expansion of the program into a minor or a full major may depend less upon the power struggle and more upon the size and resources of the college and the "market" for its courses. Table 9 presents data on the percentage of colleges which instituted Black Studies in response to student demand. Size of school is quite important: the larger the school, the more likely to have had students ask for Black Studies. Except in White male colleges, nonreligious schools were more likely to have experienced

student demand. The more selective the college, the more likely to have a demand for Black Studies. A diminishing effect on this demand is apparently related to increasing numbers of Black students enrolled, showing up after 5% for White female schools and after 10% for White coed schools.

Table 9. Percentage of Colleges Where Students Asked for Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male %	White Female %	White Coed %
Whole group	62	58	74
Size - to 1500	60*	60	59
1501-4000			76
4001-9000			80
9000+			86
Sponsorship - Public			81
Private Nonsect.	55*	61	77
Private Religious	71*	55	61
Selectivity - Selective	46*	67*	86
Competitive		48	73
Less Competitive			69
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	70	55	73
6-10%		50*	84
11+%			71

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Table 10. Percentage of Colleges Where Students Make Decisions About Black Studies by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of School Enrollment Which is Black. White Male, White Female, and White Coed Colleges

Type of School	White Male %	White Female %	White Coed %
Whole group	32	38	40
Size - to 1500		37	41
1501-4000			32
4001-9000			42
9000+			46
Sponsorship - Public			42
Private Nonsect.		50*	40
Private Religious	36*	25*	37
Selectivity - Selective		60*	41
Competitive		25*	41
Less Competitive			38
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	39*	39*	40
6-10%		46*	51
11+%			28

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Students are more likely to make decisions about Black Studies in large, nonreligious, selective schools and schools where there are between 6-10% Blacks. Again, more than 10% Blacks is associated with a diminished percentage of colleges where students make decisions. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether Black enrollment in a given college or group of colleges preceded or succeeded the advent of Black Studies or its expansion. Furthermore, Black enrollment is also strongly influenced by the admission policies of the school.

Table 11 presents the data on the proportion of White students in Black Studies courses who are White. It has been argued that Black

Table 11. Colleges Where Over Half of the Students in Black Studies Courses are White by Size, Sponsorship, Selectivity, and Percentage of College Enrollment Which is Black

Type of School	White Male %	White Female %	White Coed %
Whole group	86	73	69
Size - to 1500	100*	75	60
1501-4000			65
4001-9000			59
9000+			52
Sponsorship - Public			55
Private Nonsect.		55	55
Private Religious	87*	86	69
Selectivity - Selective		42*	60
Competitive		86	60
Less Competitive			55
Percentage of Blacks - 1-5%	88*	88	72
6-10%			42
11+%			17

All percentages calculated on a base of at least ten (10) colleges. Cells with less than ten are left blank. Percentages accompanied by an asterisk (*) are based on more than ten, but less than twenty, cases.

Studies should be exclusively for Black students, and, conversely, that White students are especially in need of the enlightenment that Black Studies courses can provide. The question we have asked is "Are the majority of students now in Black Studies courses White or Black?" Two-thirds to more than four-fifths of the traditionally White colleges have Black Studies courses which have a majority of White students. This is somewhat more likely in smaller schools than it is in large, in religious schools than it is in nonsectarian, private or public. In White female colleges selective schools are less likely to

show this pattern than are competitive schools, but this is not true of White coed schools, where selectivity makes little difference, and in the opposite direction.

There is a strong association between the percentage of Blacks in schools and the percentage of Whites in Black Studies courses in the same groups. It should be remembered that we do not have information on the actual numbers of Blacks and Whites in those courses. It is not surprising that the proportion of Blacks in the school should be correlated with the proportion of Blacks in Black Studies courses. What is significant is the high proportional White enrollment in these courses, which has important implications for some of the issues which will be raised by Mr. Slaughter in the final section of this paper.

III. Perspectives

My purpose is to contribute something to the framework for entertaining the preceding data presentation and to advance some perspectives for the identification of additional indicators of status for Black Studies in American colleges.

My discussion is a reflection upon my experience of Black Studies over the course of four years. A preliminary note on my background is perhaps in order. My immersion in Black Studies extends back to the Summer of '68 when I became involved in the initiation of Black Studies at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois. In the beginning I was the Assistant Coordinator of the Program, primarily in charge of the initial development of resource materials and equipment, and later the coordinator of the design and implementation of an innovative mass lecture course. In 1970 I transferred to Douglass College of Rutgers University and became the Director of Black Studies for a period just ending. At present I am a lecturer in Black Studies at Douglass. In sum my experience is a relatively comprehensive in-depth involvement in Black Studies which constitutes the foundation of the discussion and observations which follow.

The study to which my comments are appended, is surrounded by a number of questions as, presumably, would be most other attempts of this kind to quantitatively analyze and describe Black Studies. It is confronted on the backside by what might be called, philosophical questions of methodology. On the frontside, there are a number of what I would call pragmatic concerns. This latter set is integrally related to the objectives of the study and do, perhaps, point the way toward on-going developments in the area of ascertaining status for Black Studies in American higher education.

The following are the philosophical issues. Has Black Studies changed, essentially, during the time required to complete the survey? Has the climate changed? If so, does the change represent anything unique in the problem of dealing with highly transient domains of investigation? What issues determined the formation of the questionnaire? Are those concerns vital today? Have the questions asked in the survey proven to be aimed at critical determinants of the nature of Black Studies? Given the fact that the survey dealt necessarily, with a specific time period, do its findings have current utility and/or historical significance?

Although these queries can be intriguing, the pragmatic concerns represent more vital connections. For instance, of the number of courses recorded by any given institution, what is the racial composition of the involved faculty? What is the composition of the faculty in terms of background, credentials and expertise? What criteria are used to define and rationalize those credentials? How many of the faculty reflect a career interest in Black Studies? What is the cultural composition of the Black faculty involved: how many are African? West Indian? Black American (U.S.)? Is there a faculty-staff committee officially related to the development of the program? If so, what is its status and function in the broader affairs of the institution? To whom is the Black Studies faculty immediately accountable? Is the institution, through the program, affiliated with any efforts to establish professional associations of Black Studies? What is the source of funding for implementing Black Studies? Where does Black Studies apparently lie in the institutional list of priorities? How is that

station rationalized? What steps have been taken to accommodate Black Studies faculty and Black faculty and staff in general? What percent of the institution's higher level administrators are Black? What roles are involved? Is the institution engaged in an on-going program for 'disadvantaged' students? What is the proximity of a Black community to the campus? Is there a Black Studies center? How is that resource funded and utilized? Does the curriculum comprise community involvement formats? These and a number of other concerns (many of which do not lend themselves, readily, to quantification) are the kinds of things a Black Studies director considers when he reflects upon the growth of Black Studies in American education.

To facilitate communication of my perspective on the dynamics of these matters, let me discuss one of the less manifest questions posed above and demonstrate its connection to others of those questions, in particularly the last.

How are issues of status involved in the question of the proximity of a Black neighborhood to the campus? In the beginning we talked a great deal about Black community control over Black Studies, reflecting the fact that all other functions of the institution served priorities of the White community. What we failed to articulate explicitly, was the Establishment, here meaning the agencies and processes through which "the White community" exercised control over the institution. The White community controls the institution, indirectly; representationally, so to speak. The local townfolk, in most cases, are just as alienated from the power structures of the institution as are Black people. Since the plight of the Black American is precisely

the fact that he has few if any mainstream, societal agencies, the demand for community control over an entity which was to be integral to the institution, created a problem with which neither party was prepared to deal; White society, by attitude, Black people, through lack of power. The genius of Black Studies is perhaps the effort to contribute to the development of the rudiments of such agencies for the Black community through the shape of the struggle for Black Studies itself.

In any event, contrary to the conceptual limitations of the involved academicians, the student activists apparently recognized the presence of the predicament. The concrete realities of their involvement caused them to realize the crucial role of a Black neighborhood within the environs of the college. At an early stage the student movement advanced the principle that to wage successful struggle on the campus required access to a Black neighborhood and positive support from that community. The activist utilized the neighborhood to challenge the rhetoric of others by inquiring into their involvement in the community. He used the concrete relations between the institution and the neighborhood to "heighten the contradictions" for both parties. He used the neighborhood to programmatically accentuate and chip the institution's hypocrisy about jobs, student enrollment, and the accessibility of a benign resource to the needy at its door-steps. In the end, the harsh reality was that the activist used the neighborhood as a sanctuary from isolation and repression.

From the perspective of the Black Studies academician on the other side, the need for a Black neighborhood can be simply put. Without

a contiguous Black community, the demand for autonomy over the program and curriculum was without substance; and in the extreme case, literally without programmatic purpose. Who would comprise the membership of his countervailing constituency?

The question of the proximity of a Black community is crucial also at the next level. One very fundamental mandate of Black Studies is relevance to the Black Community. A crucial facet of this principle was expressed in early models through high priority placed on community involvement experiences. Subsequently, the need became clear for formalized practicum designs, internal to the curriculum. The conception took basically three forms. One mode was to project the ideal of a practical component for every course in the Black Studies curriculum. For example, if the course in question were a history course, then the student was to gather local history, establish a history club in the community or make history through his political actions, informed by his lessons in history.

A second variation was to conceive of community involvement as one core, among others, of the curriculum. Here the curriculum would be clustered according to traditional disciplines, the humanities, the expressive arts, the social sciences, etc. Accordingly, the practicum formats were to be found mostly in the social sciences component; and usually, would amount to an exercise in applying the methodology of the given, traditional discipline to the Black Experience.

The third alternative was to design a specific course for this purpose. Usually it would be an upper division (junior-senior) offering, structured to synthesize and test the overall import of the curriculum.

The practicum here was, so to speak, the end toward which matriculation in Black Studies moved. The subtlety introduced in this last approach was the proposition that the community was to be technically enhanced and not manipulated under the hands of ill-prepared students.

In the end, regardless of the model employed, the objective of student involvement in the community was two-fold: to make the educational process more pertinent to the real needs of Black people and, reciprocally, to relate integrally the Black community to the educational process. Note also, that we believed that this double-intent could be facilitated only by making community involvement integral to the development of Black Studies, through making the practicum integral to the curriculum. This, in fact, is put forth as the ideal of Black Studies.

Throughout the process, the keystone to effectively implementing structured community experience is the proximity of a Black neighborhood. Beyond the question of pedagogical logistics, the absence of concrete touchstones presented by the immediate accessibility of a neighborhood, reduces "the Black Community" to a philosophical role in the total scheme of things. Therefore, in addition to knowing the numbers of courses, we must have some knowledge about the logistics of routinely connecting the curriculum to a Black neighborhood. Consecutively, we must know something about the portion of the curriculum committed to community involvement: the numbers of courses, the structure and objectives and the manner in which the institution sanctions the endeavor.

This last facet, in particular, i.e. the mode in which and the degree to which the institution sanctions community involvement, raises the question of the status of Black Studies in a way which is unique, but which probably takes us rapidly to the heart of the matter. While all parties concerned can understand the role of field work in societal-change oriented curricula like urban studies, community development and social work, and in traditional social science curricula in general; upon inquiry, we might find that across the board, most institutions balk at the notion of a well-developed field-study component to Black Studies, per se. The question of field-work in Black Studies takes us closer to the question of fundamental change, both within and without the walls of the University. The American Establishment is notorious for coopting dialog and avoiding change for Black people.

Incidentally, in this inquiry it is essential to the study to discover and ask the student activist whether and how his relationships to the community are facilitated through Black Studies. It is also necessary to identify and separate obstacles, internal to the admittedly complex problem of student involvement in the community from obstacles, imposed upon development in this area of education by the attitude of the sponsoring institution towards Black Studies. The former case relates to the status of Black Studies in terms of the emerging discipline's success in confronting internal problems of pedagogy, central to its continued development; the latter case relates in terms of the new discipline's relation to American education. The latter is more central to my theme. If we find that institutions hesitate on the question of field work in Black Studies, per se, then we must

understand the dynamics of that situation. (Let us anticipate the finding that Black Studies programs are overbalanced in humanities courses.)

Confrontation on the matter usually takes the form of discussions about duplication and resource allocation, from an overall administrative point of view. The issue can be put simply: do we agree that the objectives and methodologies of other departments can be manipulated to achieve aims and objectives in Black Studies? Or is the problem of interdepartmental duplication of resource allocation a practical reality which offers itself as a screen before a real issue of intellectual hegemony?

A second aspect of the confrontation can be outlined if we can agree that despite a rapid increase in social and environmental concern in American society, the core of prestige in American education is still textbook-referenced scholarship. Against this backdrop, community involvement as envisioned by Black Studies is viewed as a contamination in the yet undisclosed scheme for the evolution and maintenance of American educational systems. Other activist-oriented curricula like community development, social work and urban studies can be treated as marginal academic entities with some degree of credence, if not authenticity. But to treat Black Studies as a marginal enterprise reflects and accentuates (and, for the Black student, exacerbates) the pattern of marginality which generates Black Studies' first reason for being.

Further, even the bona fide, change-agent curricula preserve a place for classical knowledge. In them, the candidate must demonstrate a two-fold qualification: mastery over a body of theory and potential competence as an agent. Black Studies on the other hand, would

prostrate this comfortable coordination of theory and practice, of pure and applied knowledge. For Black Studies, extant knowledge is a systematic distortion of the Black Experience. Therefore, in the end, mastery of theory, rather than being a rite of erudition through exposition, has to be a rite of nihilistic transfiguration through unrelenting criticism. The dialectics of Black Studies is grounded precisely in the early realization of the preponderantly nihilistic import of the enterprise in the Academe and the consequent consensus that the positive ingredient, necessary to all things, is to be found for Black Studies through immersion in the concrete realities of the Black community.

I suggest to you that Black Studies represents more than a manageable, compensatory supplement to American education. Black Studies is a countervailing tension within American education. It is the naked struggle for positive influence over America's youth, through a primary struggle for the minds of Black youths.

In the absence of a strong community involvement format, Black Studies can be reduced to variations on the theme of liberal arts and science, inconclusive dialog and ineffectual appreciation. Accordingly, of the numbers of courses offered, the difference between curricula dominated by the humanities, curricula dominated by the social sciences, and curricula preoccupied with community involvement is significant. It is central to the question of development toward the ideal; and if you accept the definition of quality being suggested here, you understand also that it stands in diametrical opposition to the criteria of prestige in the educational establishment.

To fulfillthe rhetoric of Black Studies would require a university in itself. Reality dictates the contrary, that we struggle to establish even the rudiments of a significant curriculum as a small, low priority part of established institutions. The coordination of these two facts, however, highlights the two essential features of a dialectic of status in Black Studies: conception, as internal articulation of goals and priorities under the givens of limited resource allocation, support and institutional sanction; and implementation, as longevity of faculty and systematic activity toward established goals. What, incidentally, is the probability of a movement, coordinated from within Black Studies, toward different institutions specializing in different aspects of a total Black Studies curriculum?

Most Black Studies programs began, perhaps inevitably, with offerings in the humanities, the expressive arts and the humanities interplay of some social science disciplines, primarily sociology, anthropology and political science. This all relates to what Nathan Hare called the expressive function of Black Studies, the enhancement of self-identification. That particular avenue of approach was dictated by our historical realities: White academicians who for their part within traditional circles, paved potential, mainstream legitimacy for Black Studies, worked primarily in these areas; most notable Black scholars were trained in these areas; cultural self-expression emerged as the prevalent phenomenon of the dispersion of civil rights politics; and Black radicalism heightened the receptivity of the Liberal community for these kinds of courses, particularly for their dialog characteristics.

Always at the back of our minds, however, in varying degrees of programmatic formulation (while preeminant in our rhetoric) the ideal of Black Studies lay in what Hare called the pragmatic function of Black Studies, the attainment of skills and perspectives to transform the condition of the total Black Community. Obviously, the curriculum to move toward this goal would be grounded in the practicum and predominated by the sciences: economic, political, legal, medical, psychological, social and physical. Although practical realities might dictate utilizing the established disciplines, to suggest that those curricula provide suitable vehicles for community-oriented education begs the question. The mandate of Black Studies, grounded in equally complex realities, dictates that for science and science education to be immediately applicable to a significant process of change for the total Black community requires a radical reorientation in assumptions, strategies, goals, applications and especially, values in scientific knowledge.

When all of the superficialities are removed, the facilitation of just this kind of curriculum is the essence of the movement, concomitant to Black Studies, toward the development of independent Black institutions, like the Institute of the Black World, Malcolm X Liberation University and the Center for Black Education. This objective was also the impetus behind the accent on paraprofessional training, preeminent among student activists in the Black Studies movement, 1969-70. Concomitant to the positive thrust, there was also significant suspicion and impatience with the established processes and agencies of certification.

The issue of Black Studies vis a vis the technical investment of the Black Community was paramount also in the first flush of student disillusionment with Black Studies. The activist corps who sustained the drive for Black Studies were also the students who were ideologically and emotionally most impatient with the incipient humanities emphasis of the resultant Black Studies entity. It might even be suggested that this issue generated the rudments of a typology of Black student behavior towards Black Studies. For the student activist, Black Studies was always a means and not an end. A survey of faculty who staffed programs in the first years might disclose the fact that in a majority of cases, the students who sat on committees and organized confrontations were not the students who enrolled in the courses in the long run; and in the least they were rarely those who signed up to specialize in Black Studies. The activist was committed foremost to agitation. His goal was not to establish Black Studies, but to transform the whole institution. In the least, he strove to heighten contradictions and radicalize the minds of Black students and in particular, Black faculty.

There was intense struggle between the activist and the staff of the program over whose role was to represent a key contradiction. For the activist, the potential contradiction lay in the fact that each measure of success in installing Black Studies (abetted in most cases through his own effort) could belie his basic postulate that the institution comprised an inherent, systematic incapacity to serve the needs of Black people. The potential contradiction for the staff lay in the consequent mandate placed before him by the activist. The

ultimate role of the staff and the process of curriculum implementation itself, were to be a demonstration of the impossibility of actualizing Black Studies; thereby demonstrating in concrete terms the backruptcy of the institution. If the key contention of the staff in confronting the institution was institutional racism, then what belief formed the basis for the earnest attempt to establish Black Studies within the inexorable structure? Or was he just scrambling in the breech provided by Black Studies, but created in the first place by the student and community activist?

Black Studies served or was to serve the activist on three consecutive levels. In the beginning, it was the issue around which political action was organized, the action being valued in itself. Once won, the initial courses were then valued as vehicles for political self-education and as regularized periods for politicizing the teacher and the other students toward greater political involvement in the community and converted struggle for more Black Studies on campus. Thirdly, the expanding curriculum was to be formed and reformed according to the dictates and priorities of progressive involvement in the community. Obviously the third stage has not been reached. The question is whether the process has been aborted. Through various stages of frustration and new directions has the influence of the student activist upon the development of Black Studies been removed from the equation? Has the student activist as we knew him disappeared from the campus?

It seems obvious that what takes place in a struggle for Black Studies, the bravura, the rhetoric, the eminence of slogans, is

different from what takes place in the transactions of the course(s), actualized as a concession from the struggle. In Black Studies, perhaps unavoidably, this distinction did not come about easily. For too many students (here to be distinguished from the activist corps, mentioned above) Black Studies was the image of struggle projected from San Francisco. At the most, for some, Black Studies was, by vague definition, an academic facility for the dissemination of agitation on the campus, in vague, ultimate behalf of the Black community. Obviously, the students who approached Black Studies from these perspectives were frustrated immediately with the realization of the nature of Black Studies in the form of course work.

The situation was further confused by the rhetoric of the movement which made no distinction between political action and Black Studies. Politics was the highest form of pedagogy, so tp speak. High priority was placed upon experiential learning. Authenticity was a primary cultural objective. The norms and criteria of authenticity were derived from "the block". Reticence and bitter recrimination intertwined appropriate social behavior; and consequently also, classroom behavior. The demand for relevance shifted the burden of proof from the learning to the teaching, elevated to a special place the student most alienated from the academic process, and in effect, mitered the student who could function successfully in both worlds, who "learned how to play the white man's game."

Ironically, but to a certain degree predictably, the students who related most compatibly with Black Studies as an academic entity were students who were also compatibly disposed towards the system

against which Black Studies was to be a fundamental alternative. This student for the most part, displayed reservations about activism and employed the rhetoric of using the system to advance the race. His goal was to enjoy equitable treatment within the system. He militantly challenged hypocrisy; but acknowledged ~~the~~ a fundamental validity of qualifying on the system's terms.

This faction was crucial to the early development of Black Studies because in the secondary conflict, i.e. between Black Studies staff and Black students, it formed a loose constituency in support of the program and sustained positive reinforcement for the staff. Without this support, many programs would have withered from within at the delicate, initial stages of implementation. The numbers of Black faculty, Black Studies or otherwise, who frequently packed their bags in these days can be surmised.

Black Studies faculty had no option but to value the development of the curriculum as an end in itself, unless it, as faculty, was going to professionally contradict itself; and it had as yet no adequate perspective from which to create a course which did not in some way comprise routine essentials of academic course work, information source, reflection, discussion, abstraction, and examination. In retrospect, classroom structures simply would not suffice to "start the revolution." The dynamics of the two processes seem even to essentially contradict each other. This unavoidable, critical contradiction between the rhetoric of Black Studies and certain inevitable features of the incipient implementation of Black Studies was surmounted for the moment only by the mitigating effects of support from students who ironically did

not see Black Studies as essential to their education, but valued it as a mutual aspect of a well-rounded education. Subsequently, this balance was supplemented by an apparent hope in most Black students that given enough time and support, Black Studies would become something significant to them.

Inside the University, the question of concrete contact with the Black Community caused questions of the backgrounds and qualifications of faculty to become crucial. Struggle over recognition of alternative credentials was mitigated and confused by the fact that Black faculty who qualified under traditional criteria and attendant social nuances were few in relation to the demand. Paramount to this practical predicament for the college administrator, however, was the early recognition within the movement that most academicians actually were ill-prepared to deal reciprocally and concretely with the total Black population of any given community even if the will were there. This was peculiarly true of Black faculty, aggravated by the fact that we were on the hot seat, under the spotlight. Of the few who were equipped with both some community-oriented skills and academic certification, most were White, for understandable reasons; and after more time has passed, it will be interesting to determine the equation imposed upon the whole scheme of things by the apparently appropriate, high priority placed upon exclusive self-assertion in Black Studies. Nevertheless, as difficult as was the role of White faculty throughout this period, it might well be that the inordinately complex problem in Black Studies was and is the problem of the Black teacher, teaching Black Studies. Once the layers of self-justification have been

suspended, the difficulty will be disclosed of the preliminary adjustment to the demands of creating a pedagogy, informed by the rhetoric of Black Studies. The whole problem was timely accentuated by the contemporaneous advent of programs of special admission to the campus for "disadvantaged" students.

The Black American has no easy nationality; his is only a perpetual marginality. This marginality which pervades Africa's diaspora, generates self-contradictory aspirations and obligations in the minds of Black people, especially those who are professionally trained. DuBois' well-known formulation of "double-consciousness" endures and has since been extrapolated as a universal dynamic of human oppression. The normal Black university professor is the paragon of this paradox. How could the norms which mark the fact of his self-accomplishment be fundamentally wrong? Prior to emergence from Fanon's dialectic of the Wretched, the very act of systematic intellectual achievement infuses the Black academician in the shadow of the ethos, underpinning the academic establishment. Consequently, when Black Studies struck, the aspiring Black professional was perhaps least prepared of all factions to conceive an actuality, corresponding to the rhetoric of the demand. The system was our distinction, our salvation, our one step beyond marginality. A well-formed idea was its own justification; pending of course, corroborative consent. Black faculty was in a peculiar predicament.

All faculty deliberated the viability of substantial careers in Black Studies beyond their initial stopgap involvement. Whether it can be put graphically, the sum of the decisions effected the intellectual character of the given curriculum. Philosophically the problem

comprises a unique dialectic of commitment, the major features of which can be surmised. It should be added that to a large extent, the Black Studies teacher does seek a career in mainstream institutions. While independent institutions are crucial and are perhaps its highest expression, the primal site of "Black Studies" is the predominantly white, mainstream institution; the confrontation there shaped the form and essence of the movement.

Relative to this, I am of the opinion that White administrators knew and understood, from the beginning, the import of the demands. Misunderstanding and questions of viability (most blatantly, questions of legitimacy) were tactical elements in a strategy of dialog and containment. The critical factors and only variables in the process were the shape and strength of the struggle and their consequences for the college community.

The point of contention in most confrontations was the question of whether to do Black Studies. The only well-known exception to this generalization was the struggle under Nathan Hare at San Francisco State, which apparently was a case of unconditional struggle over prior concession of fundamental conditions, imperative for maximal implementation, 'the how' of doing Black Studies. Adequate analysis and documentation of the main confrontation phase of Black Studies requires making a distinction between these two kinds of questions. The difference between 'the whether' and 'the how', so to speak, generated essentially two different types of confrontation. The former is interminable in the sense that a light concession could be made to do Black Studies through the gesture of designating a coordinator, usually on a

split appointment. In this instance, positive enterprise subsequently, degenerates into a programmatic void. The initial vital impetus towards the establishment of a stable, germinal base is abated in the absence of the formalized elements of structure and support, imperative for incipient, constituent development within established institutional structures. All energy then not expended on internal, frustration-produced tension among Black Studies factions is consumed in a repetitious, measure by measure lobby for institutional support for, attenuated forms of concrete development, like a curriculum, staffed with an assortment of minor appointments in Black Studies. The second of the above mentioned patterns, driving toward prior concession of foundational imperatives for programmatic development, is decisive: either the total elimination of the Black Studies force as in San Francisco, or the concession of imperatives for subsequent, significant development (as at Cornell). A case by case study of Black Studies entities across the country will probably justify in collective retrospect, this suggested distinction and correlative aftermath patterns.

It is gainful to grant here the fact that in many cases the dynamics of struggle which began over just whether to have a program, soon heightened the conditions of the struggle to the point where clear ideas began to emerge, programmatically formalized and asserted, on the establishment of positive conditions affecting the long range development of the program. But again, and in this case, heightened by the organic nature of the development, the question of concessions at the second level is critical to the process because as mentioned above, once a staff (even if one person, quarter time) had been designated there was a

tendency in most instances for the main line of struggle to be transferred from student-administration to a student-Black Studies staff confrontation. Through variations on the theme of "reform or revolution," the tension is heightened by the very presence of clearly formed ideas on the correlation between fundamental conditions and substantial implementation. At this point in the process, this unavoidable, subjective condition, 'the level of consciousness', of the Black Studies camp generates an inopportune circumstance in which the Black Studies staff is held accountable for the primary creation of the conditions which should have been won by the wider-based movement, itself. Concomitantly, secondary importance is placed upon positive manifestations of development, the latter being preconceived as token measures in a strategy of expediency on the part of the institution. This transference of focus then, creates a fundamental qualitative transformation of the situation, the further salient features of which perhaps can be surmised.

Mention of the struggle at San Francisco State necessitates mention of the creation at Cornell. My view is that these two phenomena are integrally related. All of the issues were actually decided at Frisco State. That struggle escalated the price and profile of all subsequent endeavor, especially in situations characterized by determination to mount a major program. After Frisco State, Cornell was predictable; the shape of that struggle could have happened anywhere. To deal with why it didn't requires realizing that the Black Studies movement cannot be easily localized and regionalized. After Cornell, there was less need to repeat the spectacular aspects of that process.

Taking place in the Liberal arena, laced with themes of hypocrisy and guilt, compensatory obligations and reparations, power and pity, pride and shame the dialog of Black Studies negotiation was probably unique in the annals of human confrontation. Cornell, afterwards was an unmentionable spector at every conference table; and in many situations possessed a supreme power of possibility which effectively inhibited the usual, unthinking reflexes of the administrators at the table. In a manner Cornell was the culmination of a process begun at Frisco State. After Frisco State, Black Studies was in neonatal jeopardy. After Cornell, administrators were deprived again of trustworthy formulas for containment. Many institutions then dissolved confrontation by conceding the relatively unimportant question of whether to do Black Studies. Thereby, perhaps incidently, engaging the pattern sketched above; the fundamental questions of substantial structure and concrete support for Black Studies development were transformed into Black Studies staff job descriptions, the misplaced confrontation inevitably ensued.

But, the movement caused and was endowed with the emergence of gifted and committed Black administrators. When the first comprehensive document on Black Studies: 1968-70 is written, it will record not only the stories of the Nathan Hares and the James Turners; but will celebrate also, little known instances like the case of James Rosser and the phenomenal development of Black Studies at Southern Illinois Univ. (SIU). Black Studies at SIU is particularly interesting in relation to the prestige locus among American higher educational institutions. At the time when the rightfully renowned Yale symposium

was taking place, it had already been decided to build a Black Studies program at SIU; the program design had already been drawn and adopted; a majority student-populated, predominantly Black, multidisciplinary committee had already concluded its first phase planning for implementation; and the Program's core staff had been appointed. By the time the proceeding of the Yale symposium were published, Black Studies at SIU had already been installed in a resource center; a sophisticated relation with the main library for the ordering and cataloging of printed materials had been arranged; the first shipments of books were received for what was to become within a year, a rather well equipped library; a full audio-visual complement, ranging from cassette tapes to videotape recorder, was arranged and ordered (in the end this component comprised an almost complete collection of current films on Black America, including the purchase of the entire set, in color of CBS' "Of Black America" series); a relationship established with the institution's technical personnel for the maintenance of the equipment; and the installation of office hardware was accomplished. As to curriculum development, dialog had been established and a survey of the needs and potentials of all immediately relevant departments (not just the humanities) had been carried out. A Program Committee of students was installed for the deliberation of developmental priorities and confrontation with the Program staff on issues from students' perspectives. A council of the institutions top administrators was formalized as an Advisory Committee to the Program. Two student-faculty curriculum committees were established: one, an interdepartmental body for planning the overall development of the undergraduate curriculum and the

preliminary designing of an anticipated Master's program; the other, an interdisciplinary group, chaired by a student, for the implementation of an interdisciplinary, survey course. The workings of this latter committee, the resultant design, and the dynamics of its actual implementation are phenomenal in themselves and will perhaps be of interest one day to someone in the philosophy and foundations of education: for example, the utilization of twenty undergraduate students as group discussion leaders; the coordination of a credited seminar to familiarize these leaders with the course content and methodology on an on-going basis; workshops to introduce them to the rudiments of team building techniques, conflict management and general group facilitation; the coordination of the eight professionals who related, directly to the differing aspects of the leaders' total preparation; the creation of multi-media classroom presentations; the recording of professional, studio production video-tapes for closed circuit presentation of familiar campus and community faces, and national and internationally known Black scholars discussing issues; and the sheer logistics of periodically video-taping and routinely audio-taping twenty group discussions a week. The course enrolled approximately 900 students its first year and carried a budget, approximately three times as large as the total operational budget of the Black Studies department with which the writer is presently affiliated.

I have gone into some detail on this matter partially because it gave me pleasure and partially hoping to tickle someone into investigating the truth of what I have said. But of more immediate importance, I am making an attempt to recreate some of the dynamics of

the creation of Black Studies at an out of the way place and to juxtapose that activity with the cadence of what apparently was taking place on Black Studies in the center of prestige in American education.

All of this is not to minimize the importance of the Yale Symposium and the Harvard position paper, contemporary with it. They played an essential role in the development of Black Studies. To put the matter simply, it is fairly well known that, at the time, institutions across the country were waiting for a sign from Yale and Harvard on the superimposed question of the legitimacy of Black Studies. Yale executed the proper debate; and by that very act legitimized the Black Studies prospect. The next immediate question of an admissible form for Black Studies was executed by the Harvard position paper. These acts contributed little to the movement's coffer of technical solutions for implementing Black Studies, but they were undeniably crucial in the elimination of effective resistance to Black Studies on the grounds of legitimacy.

The problem is that the act of alleviating a problem for the Black Studies movement was also an act of creating norms and criteria for the institutionalization of Black Studies. I hope that my depiction and juxtaposition of developments in Black Studies at SIU with the deliberations on Black Studies at Yale and Harvard serves to raise the question of authenticity vis a vis circumscription in the phenomenon of Black Studies. In addition to examining the bearing upon Black Studies of the relation of prestige institutions to educational formats across the country, we must also study the transmission of this relationship to the internal patterns of the relations between Black Studies entities

within prestige institutions and Black Studies enterprises across the country. This is all a problem of norms and standards. And by now it is probably fairly apparent that my central concern is the problem of norms and standards. A study of status pivots upon the researcher's decisions concerning norms of evaluation. If our intention is to go beyond ascertaining the prevailing attitude of American education toward Black Studies, then we must make every effort to capture the authenticity of Black Studies, to disclose those features and norms inherent within the incipience of Black Studies which might be suitable as indicators for measuring the real progress of Black Studies.

NOTES

1. For example, an article entitled, "Black Studies off to a Shaky Start, Beset by Rivalries", was based on interviews with students, faculty and administrators at twenty colleges and universities throughout the country. New York Times, November 23, 1969, by Steven V. Roberts. In December 1970, the summarizing article was entitled, "Black Studies Take Hold, But Face Many Problems,", New York Times, Dec. 27, 1970, by M. A. Farber.
2. Charles Valentine. 1972. Black Studies and Anthropology: Scholarly and Political Interests in Afro-American Culture. Addison-Wesley Modular Publications 15:1-53.
3. Wilson Record. 1972. "Black Studies and White Sociologists", The American Sociologist (May):10-11; Robert Blauner, 1972. "Race and the White Professor." draft, processed.
4. Sidney F. Walton, Jr. 1969. The Black Curriculum; Developing A Program in Afro-American Studies. East Palo Alto (Nairobi), California: Black Liberation Publishers.
5. The issues are analyzed in John Henrik Clarke, 1970, "The Fight to Reclaim African History," Negro Digest XIX (February): 10-15.
6. C. Gerald Fraser. 1971. "Scholars See Better Programs for Black Studies in Colleges", New York Times, Oct 31, 1971.
7. Vincent Harding. 1970. "The Future of Black Studies", in G. Kerry Smith, ed. The Troubled Campus. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 216.
8. See William J. Wilson. 1970. "A Rejoinder to Vincent Harding," Negro Digest XIX: 6811 (March).
9. Thomas A. Johnson. 1972. "Campus Racial Tensions Rise as Black Enrollment Increases," New York Times, April 4, 1972.

10. John Egerton's study, Higher Education for 'High Risk' Students provides a valuable analysis of the special programs which recruited these students. 1968. Southern Education Foundation. Atlanta. (April).
11. David C. Nichols and Olive Mills, eds. 1970. The Campus and the Racial Crisis. Washington, D.C.: The American Council on Education.
12. The Troubled Campus, op. cit.
13. See, for example, "Black and White at Northwestern University." Integrated Education, 1968, 6: 33-48 (May-June) and "Black Studies and the University - Northwestern University," Integrated Education 1969, 7:27-33 (March-April).
14. Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr. 1971. The University Crisis Reader, vol. 1. The Liberal University Under Attack. New York, Vintage Books.
15. Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster and Donald H. Olgilvie, 1969. Black Studies in the University: A Symposium. New Haven: Yale University Press.
16. See for example, Black Studies: Myths and Realities, a symposium, 1969, with an introduction by Bayard Rustin. New York: A Philip Randolph Educational Fund, and W. Arthur Lewis. 1969. "The Road to the Top is Through Higher Education -Not Black Studies", 1969. New York Times Magazine, May 11, 1969: 34-53.

17. Nathan Hare. 1970. "A Torch to Burn Down a Decadent World," The Black Scholar, 2: 2-5 (September).

18. C. Gerald Fraser. 1971. op. cit.

19. For example, Graduate Education and Ethnic Minorities. 1970. Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Boulder, Colorado (February.), and Robert H. Kroepsch and Ian M. Thompson. 1969. Urban and Minority Centered Programs in Western Colleges and Universities. 1969-70, Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. (November).

20. Information Center on Education. The State Education Department. The University of the State of New York. 1969. 1969. Afro-American Studies in Colleges and Universities of New York State, 1968-69 and 1969-70. Albany, N. Y. (September).

21. John Lombardi and Edgar A. Quimby 1971. Black Studies in the Community Colleges· A Survey. California University, L. A. ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior College Information. (April).

22. op. cit., p. 70.